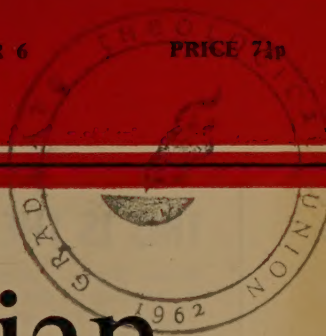


VOLUME 15

NUMBER 6

PRICE 71p



Christian Order

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The Editor

THE ANTI-PORTUGUESE CAMPAIGN

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It is published by Father Paul Crane, S.J., from 65, Belgrave Road, London, S.W.1. This is the sole postal address to which all communications concerning *Christian Order* should be sent.

Christian Order is obtainable only by subscription and from this address. In the case of those desiring more than one copy, these are obtainable at the subscription rate and should be paid for in advance.

The annual subscription to *Christian Order* is £1 in the United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland; \$3.00 in the United States, Canada and Australia; elsewhere, according to the approximate sterling rate of exchange, in the currency of the country concerned or any convenient currency.

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Christian Order

EDITED BY

Paul Crane SJ

VOLUME 15

JUNE, 1974

NUMBER 6

The Church and the Poor

THE EDITOR

NEVER has there been so much talk in the Church of the poor as there is today; yet, never before, I believe, have the poor felt so forsaken by the Church as they do at the present time. This is one of the great paradoxes of the post-conciliar years. It is worth studying a little more closely.

The talk of the poor is endless, whether they be found in the developing countries or here at home. Only a very short time ago a campaign was mounted asking Catholics to sign a petition that a larger proportion of this country's national income should be devoted to overseas aid; collections for projects in the developing countries come round with great regularity; one has only to pick up a Catholic paper to find inside the picture of a starving child. At the same time, here at home, propaganda is constant in support of the underprivileged: Catholics are urged to give to Shelter and a dozen other good causes which work for the material relief of the poor. These appeals are good and I do not query them. What I do query is the "theology" which too often supports them and which insists increasingly (and wrongly) that Christ's primary concern was with the materially destitute, that his task, therefore, was essentially with the elimination of unjust social structures, which blocked off the materially poor from their heritage. The true Christian, we are told quite wrongly, is one whose life is given to the cause of social justice, whatever that may mean, and

whose spare moments are taken up with work for the material improvement of the poorest of mankind.

The accent, be it noted, is constantly on *material* improvement; the thought, consciously or subconsciously, that this alone is what matters where the poor are concerned: they are thought of as creatures primarily of appetite; unless and until this is satisfied, the supernatural it is said adds up to little in their regard. There is some truth in this; but the contemporary heresy, which rates the material as *primary*, adds up, as in most heresies, to an exaggeration of the truth well past the point where error has been reached. In consequence, the poor are starved now in the Church—often by the very ones who are so concerned over their poor material condition—of that supernatural consolation which was once the joy of their poverty-stricken lives. For the things they loved have been taken away from them. The well-loved, familiar homeliness of the churches where they loved to come broken up by busy-body priests, stripping bare the walls and altars where once the family statutes stood—St. Joseph, St. Anthony, the Little Flower; above all, Our Lady, their Mother, to whom, so simply, they once told their troubles, whose beads they said with great affection day by day; her statute now gone from its familiar place, pushed into a corner, or replaced by a new one in impressionist style, at which they can hardly bear to look without the tears starting in their eyes. And in a box in a corner, which can be found only with difficulty, He who is the Light of the World; under a bushel now as never before. Everything is strange nowadays in so many churches stripped down to the level of Quaker Meeting Halls, presided over by folksy Oxfam priests, whose time is for the young and whose Masses so often seem no more than a swinging community meal at which the poor and the old feel increasingly unwanted, present only on sufferance and with the risk always present of being bawled out by the “President of the Assembly” for daring to rattle the rosary beads, which some of them still try to tell surreptitiously as a last-ditch means of recollection in between the twanging of guitars.

"The poor have the Gospel preached to them"; not, I am afraid, in this day and age. What we have done in the post-conciliar Church is to dim the light that once lit their days, leaving them now in the darkness of a material existence, from which the Church once drew them so gently, causing the love of Our Lord and His Mother to shine upon them and bathe their days in the quiet serenity of its smiling light. The poor ask and still ask for the bread of life, for the joy that easy and familiar access to the means of grace once brought to their threadbare lives: but, all we give them now is a needle and lots more thread.

May God have mercy on those who treat his little ones in this fashion; may a stop be put to the callous inversion which is taking Christ Our Lord and His Mother out of the lives of the poor; may brave action be taken here before it is too late.

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The exploitation of the Armed Forces' coup in Portugal by the Communist Party and the tactics of the Communist Powers have already jeopardized the attainment of the admirable proposals of General Antonio Spínola, whose book *Portugal e o Futuro*, was the catalyst of the revolt, for transforming the Republic into a federation of independent nations. Nevertheless, I shall take account of them as the accepted policy of the new regime in this and my concluding article. This programme for peace calls for the support of Christians; but it is still necessary to analyze historically the fanatical campaign which continues to fan the flames of revolutionary war in Africa and to know something of the divers countries and peoples who suffer from it.

The Anti-Portuguese Campaign: A Critical Examination

2: Countries and People Concerned

JOHN EPPSTEIN

BEFORE seeking to determine the rights and wrongs of the anti-Portuguese wars of subversion, according to the principles of international ethics summarized in Part I of this study, it is necessary to have a clear picture of the countries and people concerned.

Some Facts about Portuguese Africa

Few people in this country, even professional Africanists, ever knew anything about Portuguese Africa. Indeed, this general ignorance is one of the main assets of the anti-

Portuguese propaganda which we are considering. The difficult Portuguese language has always been an important barrier; and the history of the Portuguese rule and racial relations has been very different from that of the more shortlived English, French, German or Belgian colonisation in Africa.

There are five overseas States and Provinces of the Portuguese Republic in or off the coast of Africa, the two largest being greater in extent than the whole of western Europe. The State of Angola with an area of 481,351 square miles and a population of only some 5,800,000 lies between the mouth of the Congo (Zaire) in the North and that of the River Cunene in the South, forming the frontier with South-West Africa, and from the Atlantic on the west to Zambia in Central Africa. The State of Mozambique, a long country of uneven width, has a coastline of over 1,500 miles in the Indian Ocean running from Tanzania in the North to Natal in South Africa. The area is 297,731 square miles and the population is now approximately 8 million. The third mainland territory is the Province of Guiné (Portuguese Guinea), an enclave of 13,948 square miles—about the size of Wales—with a population of some 560,000—between Senegal and the Republic of Guinea (Conakry) on the western bulge of Africa. Then there are two island Provinces which, except for the strategic importance of the former, do not concern our present subject, since they have no adjoining neighbours from which hostile incursions can be organised. One is the archipelago of the Cape Verde Islands in the Atlantic, 300 miles west of Dakar. There are ten inhabited islands with a population of about 210,000. The other consists of the mountainous islands of Sao Tomé and Príncipe in the Gulf of Guinea off the northern coast of Gabon. The population of the two is only 12,000. Cocoa is the main product. Sao Tomé was in the news in the Nigerian Civil War as the main basis for the relief and rescue of Biafran children by *Caritas*. Though no official statistics are given of the different races in the population, schools, industries, public services and institutions, since

all are now Portuguese citizens with equal rights and duties, whether Black, White or Coloured, (*preto, branco or mestico*), the vast majority of the people of the mainland territories are, of course, Black while most of the inhabitants of the island provinces are *mesticos*, that is of mixed blood. So, too, are about 60,000 in Angola and 35,000 in Mozambique. In Angola, there are some 300,000 Whites and in Mozambique probably about 200,000, as well as 20,000 Asians. There may be at any given time approximately 70,000 Europeans in the armed forces.

Five Centuries of History

The Portuguese presence in Africa started with the off-shore islands. The Cape Verde Islands, uninhabited at the time, were discovered in 1457 and have been part of the Portuguese State ever since. Sao Tomé and Príncipe were discovered about 1470. Guinea was visited in 1445, but not settled until the end of the 16th century. The mouth of the River Zaire was discovered by Diogo Cao late in 1482 and, by 1490, an alliance had been formed with the Kingdom of the Congo which was converted to Christianity¹.—it had a chequered history. In 1575, Paolo Dias de Novaia landed with 400 settlers at Luanda: this was the real origin of Portuguese Angola. But India was the main lure of the Portuguese explorers. In 1497, Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and came upon prosperous Arab settlements along the East African coast, including Mozambique and Mombasa. In 1509-10 Afonso d'Albuquerque, having established Goa as the capital of the newly acquired "State of India", led an expedition to the East African coast and seized many of the Arab settlements. The purpose was chiefly to secure sea communications with India. Thanks to superior sea-power, the Portuguese soon had the naval mastery of the Indian Ocean. This is the origin of the present state of Mozambique.

1. The capital was renamed Sao Salvador. I paid my respects there to the Queen of the Congo, widow of the late King, in September 1971.

This record is unique among European Powers. It is the basis of the claim by the Portuguese that their present territories in Africa have been part of the Kingdom or Republic of Portugal for four or five centuries. This is an exaggeration. Some coastal areas have indeed been continuously under Portuguese rule (except for the short-lived Dutch seizure of Angola), but it was not before the end of the last century that effective occupation extended to anything like the present frontiers in West and East Africa—though the old stone fort of Tete, now the marines' barracks, over 300 miles up the Zambesi, dates from the 16th century. The Portuguese became known, as no other Europeans were known during all these years, to the many African tribes with whom they traded, allied themselves, intrigued and fought intermittently, many of whom settled around their posts and ports. Exploitation of the slave trade, indigenous in Africa, reprehensible as it is to our modern conscience, made as many allies as enemies among the native kingdoms, and the treatment of the slaves, baptised and shipped to Brazil, was at least not as brutal as that by the English and Dutch. Inter-marriage was never discouraged, and though the differences of class and wealth undoubtedly created (as in European Portugal) until recent times sharp distinctions between the cultured and uncultured, there has never been a colour bar or any racial discrimination as such. The Portuguese may not have been very good Catholics; indeed, despite their centuries' old claim to be the instrument of Christian civilisation, it is only in the 20th century that the Catholic Church has founded and developed substantial dioceses in Angola and Mozambique. But their Catholic *ethos* in this respect has been and is basically different from that of the Protestant colonists in the rest of Southern Africa.

Tribal Variety and Unifying Factors

Some demographic knowledge is a necessary foundation for any opinion upon Portuguese Africa today and its future.

First of all, it must be realized that Guiné, Angola and Mozambique are in no sense nations. It is absurd to talk of "liberating" them as if they were single peoples. They consist of a great variety of tribes, belonging to different linguistic groups, with different histories of conflict and co-operation with the Portuguese authorities. Indeed, the very fact that many of the Bashicongo tribe, straddling the Zaire frontier, and of the Makonde, straddling the frontier with Tanzania, made common cause with the "liberation" guerrillas was an added reason for the majority of the Angolan and Mozambique peoples to oppose them. George Ball, the former U.S. Undersecretary of State, commenting on this situation a few years ago wrote:

Any effort by these men to assert hegemony over the other tribes (many of whom have been armed by the Portuguese) would be followed swiftly by civil war.

The only unifying force among all these distinct tribes is their membership of the Portuguese community expressed in its administrative and political organisation, its peculiar language and culture, spread more quickly than ever before in the last decade with the expansion of education and communications, and a common interest in economic development. In view of this it is surprising that, in thirteen years of intense efforts at subversion organized from neighbouring countries, there has been no sign at all of any general rising against the authorities. The fact that all the "liberation movements" have taken the form of external aggression, supported by foreign propaganda, while their terrorist methods of revolutionary war have caused such intense hatred, has, however, had the notable effect of beginning to give a sense of national identity to each of these countries; and this includes some of the White elements of the Angolan and Mozambique populations. There is nothing like a prolonged war of defence for pulling people together. To the very large numbers of Black Portuguese soldiers, now about half the regular forces, and the even larger number in the village militias, there is no

question but that they are defending their own native land against malevolent enemies. There was no need of government propaganda. One only has to talk to Black and White officers and men of Mozambique provincial regiments, who speak of the European troops as "reinforcements", to realize that they believe that they know how to deal with the terrorists better than do the metropolitans, though the cracking of the latter's morale may disturb them. This does not in the least diminish their loyalty to Portugal as a community; it may help to develop the provincial autonomy which the Caetano Government introduced into the full independence within that community, which General Spínola proposes in his scheme of federation.²—the very reverse of accepting the rule of the Communist dictators of "liberation" in Dar-es-Salaam, Lusaka and Conakry. In the more primitive tribal hinterlands of the two great provinces, such political consciousness is obviously much less apparent.

In *Guiné*, with its numberless waterways, forests, and savannah country inland, there are seven main tribal groups all having fellow tribesmen in Senegal or Guinea (Conakry), the two largest being the Balanta and kindred Senegambian peoples, mostly animists, living in the North-West and in the coastal regions, and the Muslim Fula, who predominate in the eastern half of the country. These latter are the most redoubtable enemies of the PAIGC.

In *Angola*, there are about 100 tribes, of whom the largest and most civilised groups are the Ovimbundu and Kimbundu, who account for nearly half the population. They live in the central western part of the great plateau, which forms the main feature of the country, and the adjoining coastal belt. North of them are the Bakongo, who spill over into Zaire, and to the East the Chokwe-Lunda group, whose long strip of territory divides the economically developed West of the country from the empty East, sparsely

2. I shall examine in a later article the consequences of the plan, launched in February, 1974 by General Antonio de Spínola in his book *Portugal and the Future*, for the transformation of the Portuguese Republic into a Federation of independent states.

inhabited by small tribes whom the Ovimbundu describe as Ngangela or "other peoples". The Nyaweke-Humbe are the most important group to the South of the Ovimbundu. What is important is that about four-fifths of the people live in the western half of the country, in which is almost all the developed agricultural, mineral and industrial production and which is untouched so far by insurgent infiltration from Zambia. It is in Angola that the Catholic Church has made most progress with over 2 million faithful.

In *Mozambique* there are nine principal ethnic groups. "The tribes north of the Zambesi are mostly matrilinear and are heavily Islamized. Those south of the Zambesi are patrilinear and either animists or Christian".³ The largest group is that of the Makua-Lumbe peoples who account for 40 per cent of the population. They occupy most of the Mozambique, Ponte Delgado and Nyassa districts in the wide northern part of the province between Malawi and the Ocean and are mainly Muslims: their attachment to the Portuguese and their traditional enmity to the bellicose Makonde, who inhabit the wooded plateau of the North-East, has so far been a barrier to the southern infiltration of the Frelimo who began by subverting many of the latter. The next most important tribes are the Thonga of the southern coastal region whose menfolk habitually work in the South African and Rhodesian mines and, north of them, the Shona, a majority of whose kindred live in Rhodesia. Going up the Zambesi valley into the mountainous Tete district there is a mosaic of tribes, a fact which makes organized resistance to the aggressive rural guerrilla tactics of Frelimo no easier. Broadly speaking, it is so far the most thinly populated areas, as in Angola, which have been affected by terrorist infiltration, except for the recent and more dangerous penetration of the Beira and Zambesia districts by Frelimo groups. 15 per cent of the population of Mozambique is Catholic, 4 per cent Protestant, about 30 per cent Muslim, the remainder animist.

3. *Portuguese Africa*. Abshire and Samuel; Pall Mall Press 1969.

Accusations against Portugal

Wars always produce their crop of hatred and propaganda; and the continuous purpose of the partisans of the military and political campaign, which has been waged against Portugal in Africa since March 1961, is, of course, to sustain the notion that the Portuguese are responsible for all the sufferings which war entails, sob-stuff and special pleading included. We shall examine that contention when we come to look more closely in Part III of this study at the origin and history of these inconclusive hostilities. But one inescapable fact stands out. *None of them were started by Portugal.* As "wars of liberation", the subversive efforts, developing into sustained guerrilla warfare, were all initiated from outside the Portuguese frontiers; that is, from the Congo (Zaire) in 1971, from Congo (Brazzaville) and Zambia, Conakry, Senegal and Tanzania from 1964 onwards, by various groups of insurgent exiles, with the support of the Organization of African Unity. Whatever the defects of the Portuguese, it is therefore undeniable that they have geographically and physically been defending themselves throughout. How can their natural right of self-defence be refused?

This is the first and greatest moral hurdle to be overcome by those who wish to justify the inception and continuation of these wars. Those (and they are not many) who share any awareness of the requirements of natural law and Christian teaching, namely that war can only justly be initiated as an absolute necessity to right a great wrong for which there is no other remedy, have therefore been thrown back, first, on the assumption, latterly on the argument, that Portuguese rule in Africa was so intrinsically evil and oppressive, as to justify these armed interventions as a means of defence of the people against that injustice. In point of fact, the driving force of all but one of the "liberation movements" has nothing to do either with natural morality or Christian precepts. It is an unquestioning belief in the World Revolution of which the overthrow of European rule in Africa is seen as an essential stage. The leading

cadres, whether subject to direction by the Soviets or China—or playing them off against one another as Frelimo does—are wholly Marxist-Leninist in doctrine, policy and practice, just as they can depend on an unlimited supply of sophisticated armaments from the Communist Powers. It is this which, on the world stage, gives strategic interest and importance to the terrorist campaigns against Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, not, alas, the fate of the unhappy Africans. Since, however, we are concerned with the basic moral issue of whether these organized killings are justified in the sight of God, we must look at the two grounds on which the case for the initiation of the wars against Portugal has been based. They are 1) the refusal by the Portuguese Government of “decolonisation” in the sense required by the majority of the United Nations: 2) alleged oppressive social and labour policies in Portuguese Africa.

Decolonisation

This is a serious argument of political theory which has much to commend it, both as a rationalisation of the general process of withdrawal—largely in their own interests—of European Powers from their overseas responsibilities and because of the Christian conception of trusteeship, which saw justification in the rule of civilised over backward peoples as a preparation for the exercise of “dominium” by the latter when they were duly prepared for it.⁴

The Portuguese fully realised the force of the argument which they had to meet; and they had their answers. One is legal, namely that Portugal was elected a member of the United Nations in 1956 with its present Constitution of a unitary Republic, consisting of European Portugal and its provinces overseas; and the United Nations has no right to alter a Member’s constitution⁵. The other was that the

4. First expressed by Francis de Vittoria in his 1st *Relectio de Indis* “Just as sons need to be subject to their parents until of full age”.

5. Article 2.7. “Nothing contained in this Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter”.

colonial epoch is indeed ended, but that it can be followed by either of two alternatives; one political independence, the other integration. It is the latter, they say, that is implicit in their non-racial tradition and is in fact being implemented with popular consent and a great educational effort in their African provinces as fast as possible.

The mistake which the Portuguese made was not to recognise the genuineness of the Pan-African movement; and the great merit of Spínola's proposals is that he does, and shows a way of realizing it in a Portuguese setting. But the point which I must emphasise is this. The contention that Portugal must abandon these territories because its metropolis is in Europe would be urged by the convinced anti-colonialist even if the Portuguese were angels out of Heaven. It is not dependent upon allegations of misgovernment. Indeed, the Lusaka Manifesto makes a clear distinction between its case against Portugal, in which it admits that the problem is not racial, and its accusations against South Africa and Rhodesia, though all three are lumped together for the purpose of justifying the "peoples' struggles against their oppressors". It is based entirely upon the supposedly absolute rule that no European power should govern Africans. Upon which it makes the curious but reasonable admission:

The only thing which could convert a part of Africa into a constituent unit in a union which includes a European state would be the freely expressed will of the people of that part of Africa.

That is precisely what Spínola believes to be attainable, on the basis of self-determination for each component part of the proposed plurinational Lusitanian Federation.

Oppression

A serious pursuit of this debate would not, however, suit the real architects of the anti-Portuguese campaign, whose object is the destruction at all costs of any kind of

political structure in Portuguese Africa. They comprise three elements, of all of which passion and emotion are more characteristic than reason: one is the Non-conformist Conscience (with which the Catholic Left has lately become attuned); another is negro-racialism; the third and most powerful is revolutionary Marxism.

It is the first, starting with frustrated Protestant missionaries in Northern Angola and their friends in Britain and the United States, which initiated the violent condemnations of Portugal in March 1961, when the bloodthirsty incursions and massacres organized by a Bacongo protégé of the Baptists in Leopoldville were stopped and repressed with much confusion. Holden Roberto himself, the author of this escapade, and the leader still of its resultant organization in Zaire (UPA), had exchanged his original ambition to be King of the Congo at Sao Salvador (to which the Catholic part of his tribe were opposed) for the consuming African revolutionary nationalism which he had learnt from Nkrumah at Accra. The Communists, though exploiting the passions aroused by the massacres and repression, had and have no part in this particular outfit whose main supporter was the radical American Committee on Africa. It is the three more sophisticated and formidable revolutionary organizations created in the next few years to conduct wars of subversion against the Portuguese in Angola (MPLA), Guiné (PAIGC) and Mozambique (FRELIMO) that are now the spearheads of Communist penetration in East and West Africa. The first two were under communist leaders from the start. Communist control became absolute in Frelimo after the assassination of its founder, Eduardo Mondlane.

The Missionary Anti-Slavery Tradition

When we analyze the component elements of the campaign, the accusation of forced labour—long since abolished—repeated over and over again against the Portuguese, reveals the old anti-slavery tradition of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism. The anti-slavery movement became inextric-

ably linked with the new enthusiasm of the London Missionary Society which followed Livingstone's African journeys; so the British missionaries made much of the scandals of the period between Sà de Bandeira's abolition of the Portuguese slave trade in 1837 and the final suppression of domestic slavery nearly forty years later. It was a period of ineffective government, during which the illegal trans-Atlantic shipment of slaves continued to flourish, thanks especially to American ships.

Many of the Protestant missionaries, notably the Baptists who were evangelizing the Bacongo before that tribal group was divided between the new domain of the Belgian King, the French and the Portuguese at the Berlin Congress of 1885, made great sacrifices and did heroic work. Protestant medical missions both in Angola and Mozambique were of great benefit, as some who remain (including Jehovah's Witnesses) still are. But lack of sympathy with a Latin and traditionally Catholic people, whose race and religion many of them—particularly the Americans—really despised, made for intermittent friction, especially when the Portuguese, waking up tardily to their responsibilities in matters of education, resented their superior criticism. The Catholic Church, enjoying greater support from the Portuguese State as the main instrument of elementary education—except in periods of rabid anti-clericalism in Lisbon—was not, until recently, impeded by this kind of politico-religious antipathy. It was on the contrary more often criticized, especially by foreign Protestants, for its endorsement of Portuguese patriotism.

While it was during the half-century after the official abolition of the slave trade in 1837 that the anti-slavery movement among English and Scottish Evangelicals became set in an anti-Portuguese mould, it was the scramble for Africa by the Great Powers in the 1870s and 80s and its political consequences which caused a collision between British and Portuguese imperialism. This was reflected in the trends of religious opinion. Anti-Portuguese feeling was stimulated from time to time by incidents such as the in-

flammatory Presbyterian propaganda, deliberately set in motion in Scotland by Lord Salisbury's Government in 1889 to support their policy of stopping the Portuguese penetration of what is now Southern Malawi, because it posed a Popish threat to the Scottish missions at Blantyre and Livingstonia. This was in fact one of the points of collision between the old Portuguese desire, strengthened by the success of Serpa Pinto's trans-continental journeys, to join up their West and East African territories, with the simultaneous imperialistic ambition of Cecil Rhodes and Harry Johnston for an all-British "Cape to Cairo Route".

The British Ultimatum of 1890 in support of the latter design was a great humiliation to the Portuguese. It led, amongst other things, to the fall of the monarchy. It led also to the rise of a new generation of Portuguese colonial enthusiasts, like Antonio Enes and Mousinho de Albuquerque, who were determined to strengthen their country's presence in Africa, threatened as it was with bankruptcy and with the covetous intrigues of Germany and Britain, by making Mozambique and Angola economically prosperous and efficient. This, they believed, could only be done by the mobilisation of native labour, for which purpose a system of compulsory work, for limited periods of time with remuneration, would be necessary. (No doubt President Sékou Touré of Guinea had much the same idea when he announced on gaining independence from France, "We shall be the first African Government to establish compulsory labour".) This led to the Native Labour Regulations of 1899, re-enacted several times until 1928, which laid down that:—

All natives of Portuguese overseas provinces are subject to the obligation, moral and legal, of attempting to obtain through work the means that they lack to subsist and better their social conditions. They have full liberty to choose the method of fulfilling this obligation, but if they do not fulfil it, public authority may force a fulfilment.

This gave rise to great abuses, not only in the forced labour exacted for public purposes, as in many other African colonies, which was progressively abolished, but even more in the pressure exerted to supply indentured or contract labour for long periods to the plantations and other enterprises of private firms. The shipping of contract workers to the cocoa plantations on Sao Tomé was particularly notorious and, incidentally, showed the impotence of the Governor General of Angola, in the face of powerful companies, when he tried to restrict their abuses. The British and American Protestant missions and the English Anti-Slavery Society were perfectly justified in protesting against these evils—though oddly enough they gave little attention to the ill-treatment of Africans in South Africa at that time—just as Father Barroso, later Bishop of Oporto, and other champions of African rights in Portugal had done. To this period belongs the literature of righteous indignation upon which the whole emotional anti-Portuguese campaign is historically based, such as H. W. Nevinson's *A Modern Slavery* (1906); William Cadbury's *Labour in Portuguese West Africa* (1910); and J. M. Harris' *Portuguese Slavery: Britain's Dilemma* (1913). One has only to read the saga of Mr. Basil Davidson, year after year, or to notice the slogans constantly repeated by supporters of the campaign in local newspapers or "demos", such as those now conducted in English towns by some hairy youths against the purchase of *Nescafé* because it uses Angolan coffee "produced by the forced labour of men, women and children under armed guard", to realize the essential malevolence of this campaign. It is not honest because it deliberately pretends that present conditions are the same as those resulting from the Labour Regulations of 1899 and ignores the whole history of the radical reforms effected during the last fifty years and especially under the later period of Dr. Salazar's government. "Give a dog a bad name and hang him" is the rule.

There is now no forced labour and no indentured labour. The Native Labour Code of 1928 forbade recruiting for

private companies by administrative officials. The legislation of 1955 increased the penalties for so doing and provided detailed regulations of the hours and conditions of work. There was still much to criticize, such as compulsory cotton cultivation in Northern Mozambique in the 1950's. Pastoral of the Bishop of Beira in 1954 and of the Archbishop of Luanda in 1956 helped to bring such abuses to an end. In 1960, began a substantial "reform of the native labour system, with the revocation of penal sanctions for breach of work contracts, the setting of minimum wages, the establishment of labour inspection, the ratification of the International Labour Organizations Conventions on Child Labour and the Abolition of Forced Labour and other measures".⁶

Now all this happened *before* the first Pan-African onslaught by UPA on the North of Angola in March 1961 which was the start of the wars of subversion. It created the situation which led the special Commission of enquiry of the ILO in that year to conclude that "far reaching changes" had been effected to implement the Convention and that it was "fully satisfied with the *bona fides* of these changes". It rejected "as entirely without foundation the suggestion made in support of the complaint (by Ghana) that Portugal only ratified the Convention as a cover to continue her ruthless labour policies". Also in 1961 the enlightened Code of Rural Labour was introduced; and the Native Statute was repealed, abolishing the distinction between *assimilados* and *indigenos*, all inhabitants being placed on a footing of absolute equality concerning civic rights. More recently all property qualifications of the franchise were removed, so that it is only necessary to be able to read and write to become an elector in local-government, provincial and national elections.

All these remarkable changes of the last fourteen years—let alone the phenomenal expansion of education in Angola and Mozambique—are completely ignored by those

6. Norman A. Bailey in "Portuguese Africa" (Abshire and Samuels).

who have been campaigning during these years to justify and support the wars of subversion against Portugal with all the needless killings and cruelties that they bring. I have given so much attention to the religio-political origin and development of this racket, because it is the foundation of that spurious moral reprobation, so dear to Anglo-Saxon radicalism, which has enabled the Communists, who are the real organizers of the campaign, for their own political and strategic reasons, to bamboozle so many clergymen and other generous persons into committing themselves to it. This has particular reference to the Catholic Left. Having jumped rather late in the day on the anti-colonial band-waggon, they have simply swallowed the old Protestant missionary accusations of the earlier years of this century against the Portuguese and regurgitated them as gospel truth, providing them as Christian Marxists with the justification for revolutionary violence. Take for instance the section (Chapter 7) of *"The Church and Revolution"*⁷ written by Canon Francois Houtart, Secretary of the Belgian "Justice and Peace Commission", and André Rousseau, in which they deal with the "Portuguese Colonies". A great deal of this is lifted straight out of the current propaganda of the terrorist (liberation) organizations in Conakry, Lusaka and Dar-es-Salaam with the usual swollen statistics and lies. But when it comes to social questions one finds exactly the same list of evils proclaimed by the disgruntled Baptist missionaries and supporting journalists to excuse the UPA massacres in 1961; 99 per cent of the population of Angola is illiterate; the health of the people is completely neglected; infant mortality is high; it is only the Protestant missionary education which is praiseworthy; etc. "The hard reality of forced labour still prevails in the Portuguese territories . . . The forced workers are recruited for public works and as labourers on the plantations by the settlers who own the most fertile land, acting with the support of the Government. They are often sent far away from their

7. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, 1971.

families and villages, and the result of this migration is disastrous to the family situation". "The assimilation of blacks is carried out at the cost of their depersonalization"; and so on. Some of these assertions were true years ago—just as it is true that the Australian colonists used to shoot the aborigines like wild animals. Today they are lies. And where did the authors of this book cull these obsolete data? If we turn to the notes, we find that the greater part of it is quoted from ICI, that is *Informations Catholiques Internationales* which distributes such second-hand propaganda to the Catholic world.

(To be concluded)

Note: In order to take count of recent events in Portugal, John Eppstein's third and final article will be published in August. — Editor.

Readings at Mass

FRANCIS FENN, S.J.

THE Galatians were a tribe, related to the Celts, who had settled in central Asia Minor in the third century B.C. It seems that St. Paul had evangelised them during his second missionary journey (Acts 16,6); he re-visits them early in his third journey (Acts 18,23), and soon after his arrival in Ephesus, where he was to stay three years, he writes them the letter from which we shall hear four extracts, June 16 to July 7. They had been troubled by "Judaizers" such as we came across last month, who wanted them to be circumcised and keep Jewish feasts (4,10). To this propaganda some of them had succumbed, deserting the pure Gospel of Christ and his all-sufficient grace (1,6-7). This is the most passionate of Paul's letters, and lacks the usual greeting.

"What makes a man righteous (i.e. right with God) is not obedience to the (Mosaic) law, but faith in Jesus Christ. We had to become believers in Christ Jesus no less than you had . . ." (June 16). The "we" refers primarily to himself and St. Peter, about whom he has just been writing: both were Jews. "Faith in Jesus Christ" means, first of all, acceptance of the truth of what he has done for us (see Romans 10,9-17). Since this itself is the work of the Holy Spirit, it opens the way to a sharing in the risen life of Christ: "I live now . . . with the life of Christ who lives in me". This is a source of thought and action in each of us Christians, and it can become (as in the case of St. Paul) the only thing that matters in the world (July 7).

If this sounds a little too subjective, it should be recalled that saving faith is never far removed, in the mind of St. Paul, from baptism. This is implied in the expression "I have been crucified with Christ", for in baptism we are identified with the saving death of Christ (Romans 6,3). And we find it at the opening of the reading on June 23

("all sons through faith in Christ . . . baptised in Christ"), which goes on to show that it is not as isolated individuals that we attain salvation, but as members of "the whole Christ"—the new humanity in which earthly differences lose their importance (cf. Colossians 3,8-11). It is to make them members of this new humanity that we baptise infants, a practice apparently unknown to St. Paul. While the Holy Spirit implants the capacity to believe, it is only later (with the help of Christian education: the "hearing of the word") that the child is capable of saving faith.

St. Paul is not teaching that faith alone (linked with baptism) is sufficient for final salvation: this should be clear from the reading on June 30 (with the rest of ch.5 and 6,7-9). Faith in Christ, not anything we can do of ourselves, wins favour with God; but this favour must be preserved by bringing forth fruits of charity, according to Christ's command. Here, surely, is the reason why St. Paul says nothing in this context of the love of God: a living faith already includes the love of God (cf. 1 John 4,21).

To turn to the readings from St. Luke. The woman on June 16 is not named: she certainly was not Mary Magdalene (8,2), nor is there any reason to identify her with the sister of Lazarus and Martha (10,39; cf. John 12,3). On several occasions in this Gospel Jesus dines with Pharisees (11,37;14,1); as Simon silently condemns Jesus for not divining the character of the woman, Jesus shows himself a prophet by reading the other's secret thoughts. The point of the parable which Jesus tells Simon is that the greater the mercy, the greater is the loving gratitude: "she loves because she is forgiven"—not "she is forgiven because she loves".

From Luke one would not know where the incident of June 23 took place (Mark 8,27). This is because there is a break between 9,17 and 9,18. Luke, who has been carefully following Mark, skips over (for his own good purposes) Mark 6,45-8,26. Jesus is found "praying alone" (cf. 3,21;11,1). "Who do the crowds say I am?"—the words convey a feeling of loneliness. The same answer is given

as in 9,7-8. Peter does not confess (or deny) the divinity of Jesus—"God's Anointed" is the fulfilment of Old Testament hopes. Confession of divinity belongs after the resurrection of Jesus. When Jesus has predicted his passion, he speaks "to all" about following him: "let him take up his cross *daily*", a word which changes the focus of the saying (Mark 8,34) from the moment of death to the day-by-day patience of the true Christian. Luke has applied the words of Jesus to the situation of a Church which now knows it has to *wait* for his second coming.

The beginning of the reading on June 30 presents the life of Jesus as an ascension to glory (cf. Acts 1,2) through hostility and death: "he set his face" (RSV) is a Jewish expression often used in the O.T. So the Suffering Servant speaks: "I have set my face like a flint and I know that I shall not be put to shame" (Is.50,7). The Samaritans were mostly descendants of foreigners who were settled in Israel (the northern kingdom) after the deportation in BC 721. They worshipped on Mt. Gerizim in schismatic opposition to Jerusalem (John 4,20). But there was much good among the schismatics (10,33; 17,16; Acts 8 : 5,14 & 25).

There is a play on words in the saying: "Leave the (spiritually) dead to bury their (physically) dead". Filial piety, especially in the burial of parents, was deeply engrained in Judaism: Jesus wanted to arouse thought rather than to be taken literally.

May I add as a postscript that I am grateful to the new Calendar for putting the Visitation of our Lady (May 31) *before* the Birthday of St. John Baptist, always kept on June 24. It had worried me the other way round!

In the second of two articles on the Synod working-paper, Father Crane finds from an examination of its language, style and assumptions, it is out of keeping with reality. He concludes that it is intended, however subconsciously, for a progressively-minded few.

Current Comment: The Synod and Evangelization

2: *Chalk from Cheese*

THE EDITOR

I NOTED in a previous article that the Author of the official working-paper for the coming Synod of Bishops in Rome appeared, by implication anyway, to be unaware that the major damage within the Church today was done to herself by herself and could not be laid primarily at the door of outside forces. I regard his apparent ignorance of this fact at this late hour as quite extraordinary; that one commissioned to produce an official working paper for the Synod should reveal such unawareness of what has been so painfully plain for such a long time to so many of the Faithful, shakes me to the core. I am shaken further when I realise that, when writing his working paper, he must have assumed an unawareness on the part of the Bishops equal to his own; so many of the queries in his working-paper are, by implication at least, something of an insult to the intelligence of anyone who has considered at all closely affairs within the Church over the past eight years or so. This assumption of unawareness on the part of the Bishops is all part of the curious air of unreality that pervades the Author's work. One is left with the im-

pression of a man, living in an ivory tower, without any real idea of what is going: of one who is so much the prisoner of his own preconceived ideas, as many Progressives are, that he is unable to look with any kind of an objective eye at the realities of the situation within the contemporary Church.

Progressive Overtones

This impression came to me as I read the paper for the first time. By the time I had read it for the fourth time, making notes in the margin as I did so, my first impression had been in no way diminished. On the contrary, it had been strengthened to a marked degree. There was something about the paper—its language and style, its haunting air of unreality—which set it off in my mind as an attempt to place before the Bishops not the real facts of the situation in the Church today, but the preconceived categories of a progressively-minded Catholic concerning those facts. There was a phoney, Alice-in-Wonderland air about it, which made it read like nothing so much as a poor man's edition of one of the early issues of *Slant*. I had the greatest difficulty in understanding the contents to be found in any number of that now-defunct periodical. I found a not dissimilar difficulty in several sections of this working-paper. (This is something of a pity when you realise that Clergy and Faithful have been asked to discuss it and pass on to the Bishops ideas arising out of their discussions.) These were couched in a language I either could not understand or which seemed to be to be representative of an approach, common enough amongst Progressives working from preconceived and esoteric notions, but outside the grasp of ordinary men. At the end, therefore, of my fourth and most careful reading of this document I was left with the feeling, which I hope is wrong, that it was written, however subconsciously, by a Progressive for Progressives. Its language and its assumptions—its whole rarefied approach—were of a sort that only they could

really appreciate; and it was they, in the last analysis, whom the Author expected, in however subconscious a fashion, to give effect to the concrete measures implied in its pages as appropriate for evangelization.

A Point of Language

In illustration, let me take this point of language. Here is a choice morsel. It is found at the end of the working-paper as number 3), Section F of suggested guidelines for the renewal of evangelization. It takes the form of a question: "Is the temptation to deduce technical solutions from Gospel principles avoided"? Now, I don't know about you, but I can say quite frankly that I don't know what the Hell that means! If someone came to me in confession and said to me, "Bless me, Father, for I have sinned. It is two weeks since my last confession and I accuse myself of giving way to the temptation of deducing technical solutions from Gospel principles"; if someone came to me and said that, I tell you, again quite frankly, that my inclination would be to slip out of the box, slip into the presbytery and dial 999 as fast as I could. I would be so inclined because the strangeness of his words would lead me to the view that he might very well be mentally unbalanced and in need of protection. In this, I believe, most ordinary, decent Catholic priests and laymen would concur. If someone got up and put that question to the assembled clergy at a deanery conference, they would feel extremely embarrassed. And not only priests—I am willing to lay any reader a bet that there will not be a single Bishop at the Synod, with the possible exception of Cardinal Suenens—if he gets there—who would know what you were talking about were you to ask him whether he was avoiding the temptation of deducing technical solutions from Gospel principles. But—and here lies the rub—there will probably be "experts" hanging on to the fringes of the Synod, largely, I fear, of progressive bent, who will affect to know what you were talking about and who will lecture the

Synod, if given half a chance, as they lectured the Bishops at the Council, on the deep significance and immense relevance for evangelization and, indeed, salvation—whatever that may now mean in their eyes—of avoiding the temptation which plagues us all so often during these days; namely, that of deducing technical solutions from Gospel principles. All of which—if you will permit a good old Cockney phrase—amounts to no more than a load of cock!

If the reader wishes, he can find other examples. Let him see, for instance, what he makes of this: "Are religious communities (including contemplative ones) organically incorporated into the life of the community?", or this: "In your part of the world, does the Church play a prophetic role by constructively criticizing social institutions?" Now, I do not know what the first question means and I do have a hazy idea of what the second implies; but what both these questions seem to me to represent, along with a good deal else in this working paper, is, as I have indicated above, an approach to the problems of evangelization, in line with the preconceived notions of a progressive few, but right outside the ken of ordinary, decent Catholic priests and laymen, amongst whom I am proud to number myself, though I am the first to admit that I may be quite unfitted to do so.

The point I am trying to make is that the language used in the questions noted above and the style that enshrines the greater part of the writing in this official paper is alien to most of us. (*En passant*, it is worth noting the contradiction implicit in the use of this alien type of language and style by one who stresses elsewhere in this paper the need the Church has to adopt means of communication that can bring her message easily to all.) More significant, perhaps, is the conclusion that, so far as I can see from the paper's language-style, it is written, however subconsciously, for the largely progressive few by one who may well be of their number and who sees the work of evangelization as lying largely in their hands. In this way, semantics are used, via the machinery of participatory

democracy, to impose on the Church as a whole and over the heads of ordinary members, progressive views with regard to evangelization, which are unrelated to reality, earthbound and certain, in consequence, to bear no fruit.

An Introductory Passage

Confirmation of this view is received from the general tenor of the Author's approach to evangelization in this paper and, in particular, from the specific assumptions (pp.7 and 8) on which he rests his thesis. He lists nine of them in all and against all but one I placed a large question-mark. I did so because each one of them seemed to me gratuitous and the language in which they were couched of that phoney sort, which Progressives use when they chat up each other. I placed a larger question-mark still against the very first point (p.5) made by the Author in his introduction to his working-paper. I did so, once again, because here, once more, its assumptions and style of language are so typical of what some of us have come to recognise as representative of the post-conciliar, progressive approach to contemporary problems. I think it only fair to justify what I have just said concerning the Author's introductory lines. For the reader's convenience, I will set them down here:

"The world of today is in full evolution. Individuals and communities by their own activity are constructing their individual and social lives; a new way of life is coming into being, as a consequence of industrialization, urbanization, the independence of new nations, etc.; indeed, the very judgment and scale of values in men's consciences are undergoing change."

An Illicit Generalization

I have the strong inclination, but, unfortunately, not the space to engage in textual criticism of this gem of con-

temporary, Catholic thinking; but I must say something, even at the risk of boring the reader. What on earth, for example, does the first sentence mean? Reading it, one gets the impression that, overnight as it were, the world has suddenly swung from near-stagnation to pulsating activity; that nothing in the world had ever really changed or moved in any significant way until now. This, I am afraid, is nonsense. The world has come slowly to its present point, with the tempo of its advance (or regression) sometimes greater and sometimes less. It could be that it is somewhat faster at the present time than at any preceding period, but I doubt it and, in any event, any assessment must be relative and take account of time and place. For many in this country in the mid-nineteenth century the world was moving faster and its pace of change far greater than is the case today. You could probably say the same of America in the golden nineties at the end of the last century, of Turkey under Ataturk not so far from the beginning of this and of Japan, under the Emperor Meiji, who began its modernization in 1868, when it was poorer and far more primitive than is any Asian country today. The worst thing you can do these days is to indulge in generalizations of the sort set down by the Author in the opening words of his working-paper. It is unproven, I am afraid, and untrue. What trust, then, can be placed in him or his assessment of the contemporary situation, however well-meaning he may be? Very little, I am afraid; and this judgment is supported when one looks further into the opening lines which introduce this work-paper. Let us take further examples.

What Kind of Reliance?

I do not regard it as true, for example, that "individuals and communities by their own activity are (now) constructing their individual and social lives". The implication is that they were not doing it before, which is nonsense; and a somewhat startling contradiction is to be found in the fact that most of them are constructing their individual and

social lives to a manifestly lesser degree than was the case with previous generations. For most people today, the golden age when men had their living in their own grasp has long since become a thing of the past—yet, here is our Author implying that it has just begun and apparently finding reason to associate this new beginning with industrialization, urbanization and the attainment of national independence, all three of which on balance, have worked, if anything, against personal freedom and, in the case of the former two, been instrumental in developing that typically conformist mentality, which is so distinctive a mark of today's teen-age proletariat, whatever its class. I have to ask, once again, what kind of reliance can be placed on judgment of this sort.

Playing the Progressive Game

Finally, right at the end of this introduction, we are pushed up against the statement that "the very judgment and scale of values in men's consciences are undergoing change". The impression given is that this has happened by chance, so to say, that it has descended on us out of the blue. Yet, we know that this is not so where Catholics are concerned. In their case, as we have argued in a previous article, the reason for this kind of change in judgment and value-scales is to be found in the post-conciliar failure of Ecclesiastical Authority to uphold them: in the name of a bogus pluralism, so dear to progressive hearts, neo-Modernism has been allowed to erode the Faith of thousands, whilst the Bishops of the Church have been without the courage to stand up and fight it. Thereby, they have betrayed the Church of God as they did at the time of the Reformation; if there is a crisis in the Church today, as there undoubtedly is, it can only be of their own negative making. Their sin essentially is one of omission. If there is a collapse of values amongst Catholics (which the Author of this working-paper describes euphemistically in terms of change), it has been brought by the Church to the Church. Let this

be said again and again, for it is the truth. I have, therefore, no confidence in the judgment of one who, as here, appears to me to be playing the progressive game of attributing to outside causes chaos brought by his friends to the Church from within, then using this false attribution as excuse for doing still further damage to the Church by way of "remedy" and from inside itself. I am sick and tired of this kind of sleight of hand, which has been employed by Progressives against the Church since the end of the Council. Examples of it are only too easy to find. For instance, the guts are ripped out of religious life by progressive superiors of a Religious Order; the Order then begins to fall apart; the fall-out is attributed by these same superiors and their progressive advisers to purely external causes; still more progressive measures are introduced to stem what is thought of as an incoming tide, which means that the Order falls still further apart, and so on, and so on. Or again, liturgical capers are inserted into the New Mass to make it more appealing. As a result, congregations fall off, which is set down by progressive clerics as due to outside causes, which means the introduction of further capers, which causes the New Mass to be even less appealing, which causes a further falling off, which means the introduction of more capers, and so on, and so on. In the end, what began as a Mass ends up as a "group meal"; a picture of which I saw recently, with the huddled participants squatting round a patch of floor turned into an "altar", drinking wine out of plastic cups.

So, here in this pamphlet, with the prospect of evangelization reduced almost to zero as a result of the devastation brought to the Church by progressive attack from inside itself, we are informed in this working-paper (p.10) that there is a "crisis of evangelization", as if the cause of the crisis was wholly from outside when, as a matter of glaring fact, it is wholly from inside. True, the line of approach that follows has some supernatural content, but here as elsewhere in this paper, there appears to be very little, if any realization that the crisis was manufactured from

within in the first place and that there can be no question of any progress with evangelization unless and until the present self-induced rot within the Church is effectively tackled by ecclesiastical authority. What one fears, under these circumstances, is that the phoney crisis, as distinct from the real one, will serve only as an excuse for further progressive madness, which will produce a further crisis of self-inflicted wounds, which will appear as intensifying the phoney crisis, and so on.

Nine Assumptions

If I may return for a moment to the nine specific assumptions which I mentioned earlier on and which are set down by the Author (pp.7 and 8) as having a bearing on evangelization. I noted, when I first mentioned them, that, against all but one, I had set a question mark. I did so because all but one seemed to me to be far removed from the reality of the present situation. I had better list them, I think, for the convenience of the reader:

A) People are seeking a new life style, freedom from all types of servitude, and the development and promotion of the whole man.

B) In human society individuals are seeking the meaning of life and are daily becoming more involved in the discussion of this matter.

C) Dissatisfaction springs not only from lack of progress; it also increases with the advent of progress itself.

D) The Church is becoming progressively less identified with society's political structures, and is able to manifest her religious nature more clearly.

E) There is an evident reaction against conformism and immutable traditions. This reaction manifests itself in the questioning of structures imposed from without.

F) New community forms of every kind arising everywhere demonstrate people's urge to foster mutual solidarity.

G) There is an increase in the sense of personal responsibility.

H) The less elevated forms of religious practice are coming to be recognized as lacking in substance and are being either rejected or corrected. A more genuine religious experience is prized and sought after.

I) The various religions and world ideologies are coming together in the quest for peace and justice.

Critique of Same

The assumption against which I placed no question mark was, of course C), for there is definitely something in this. But, let us look at the rest and take a few samples. People are not seeking freedom from all kinds of servitude (A); on the contrary, they are embracing the servitude of proletarian dependence in the countries of Europe and North America, for example, as never before. Elsewhere, in many developing countries, they are forced to rest content with an older servitude imposed on them since independence, which they now see as not to be identified with personal freedom. It is laughable, as in B), to describe individuals as a whole as seeking new meaning in life and discussing it each day in increasingly excited fashion. One asks, What sort of society is the Author acquainted with, where and at what level? I have been around a bit; I cannot recollect one single occasion when, in the course of a day's travel, here or abroad, I have come across a group of individuals, huddled together, excitedly discussing the meaning of life. So far as concerns D), I would suggest that the Church, most unfortunately, through the advocacy of Christian Marxists, is becoming progressively more identified with the overthrow of existing political and social structures; as a result she is far less able than before to manifest her religious nature and witness to her essentially supernatural

mission. The reaction against "conformism and immutable traditions" which the Author notes in E) does not represent a deep-seated and universal movement in the Church or in the world; careful examination will reveal it as adding up to little more than the kind of disruption brought by rootless elements to each kind of society in face of the weakness of permissive authority. Far from being "an increase in the sense of personal responsibility" (G), there is a noted breakdown of it, particularly at the level of family life. Because of this and the move towards government centralization which it fosters, there is diminished evidence of "new community forms" arising everywhere in evidence of what the Author optimistically describes under F) as the "people's urge to foster mutual solidarity". One of the tragedies of the time is the frustration of that urge by the centralized, managerial State. Again, if "a more genuine religious experience is prized and sought after" (H) by Catholics, this is not because they are tired of the old religion, which is in process of being taken from them, but because they are fed up with the earth-bound, horizontal humanism of what appears to them as the new. The Pentecostal Movement, for example, is not a reaction against the supernaturalism of the old religion, but an escape from the earthiness of the new. Once again, by implication anyway, the Author has got things the wrong way round, placed the cart firmly in front of the horse. Finally, under I) the Author appears to me to manifest a capacity for self-deception that can only be described as tragic. When he describes "the various religions and world ideologies" as "coming together in the quest for peace and justice", he confuses the requirements of true ecumenism with the bogus brand being hawked round in too many church circles today; and, finally, from the ideological angle, he displays, by implication, an ignorance of the ultimate intentions of Communism which passes belief.

I see no point in further examination of these assumptions. All except C), which has something to it, are alike in their remoteness from reality and their extraordinary

capacity for representing as noteworthy the contrary of what most men, I think, would believe to be significant today.

Chalk from Cheese

One is left with the feeling that what this paper adds up to is table-talk for a few, something for initiates who stand aloof from the rest of us, as far removed from reality as chalk from cheese. There is, however, a grain of hope and it is found on page 12: "The Second Vatican Council put forward a number of guidelines concerning evangelization. It is time that the Synod examined what fruit has resulted from these seeds, what may have been put into practice insufficiently or less correctly, and what may perhaps have given rise to deviations or indeed errors". That is well said. No further trimmings are necessary. The rest of this paper can be left aside. Let the Synod of Bishops concentrate wholly on this passage in a spirit of prayer and *total* objectivity; with a complete absence of preconceived, progressive notions let them examine the facts, then take appropriate and effective action. If they do this, the results can only be profound.

The former Archbishop of Portland, Oregon, U.S.A., writes every week for an American Catholic Weekly, "Twin Circle", which is gaining increasing popularity every month. His articles are often striking. This one, written last year, is reproduced with due acknowledgement and thanks.

Robbing Religion of Mystery

ARCHBISHOP ROBERT DWYER

ONE of the minor (or should it not in honesty be described as major?) irritations of life in these piping Post-Conciliar days is to read, or even worse to hear read, the scriptural and liturgical translations which have been foisted on us by well-meaning but incompetent literary hacks. When you yourself are the reader it is easily possible to substitute the well-remembered felicities and sonorities of the abandoned texts, handed down to us from a time when men valued such qualities of the language; but when another is at the lectern you can only sit there in the President's Chair (whatever happened to Triumphalism?) or in the pew, and cringe as the ineptitudes and barbarisms fall steadily as a leaden rain.

How long, O Lord?

How long, O Lord, how long? Will there come a time before we have shuffled off this coil of mortality when the Bishops of the English-speaking world, in unison with their outraged clergy and long-suffering laity, will rise up and demand a total revision in the name of the dignity of divine worship and the honour of the Catholic name? Ardently as we yearn for such a blessed event, grim realism teaches us not to hold our breath.

But the crimes perpetrated against the language in liturgy and scripture are only a phase of what would almost seem to be a vast conspiracy to rob religion of any sense of mystery. We do not necessarily impute bad faith in using the term "conspiracy," for all kinds of men, saints and sinners, can conspire, be their object holy or profane. But the patent fact that today there is a liturgical "establishment" exerting dominant influence throughout the Church in favour of diminishing or destroying the element of mystery is so much a matter of daily experience as to stand in naked exposure.

Pope is Badly Served.

The conspiracy extends from the very centre out to the farthest ends, and though the Holy Father has in no way endorsed its spirit of demythologizing or of desacralizing (quite the contrary is true), it seems apparent to us that he has been badly served by all too many in whom he has placed his trust. And the same is even more painfully true of the Bishops.

Not only is the liturgy rendered in language which is dull, pedestrian, uninspiring, where it is not actually grammatically faulty, but the action of the liturgy is in process of being stripped of those elements of ceremonial which have made it beautiful and impressive. Granted that a certain amount of pruning was advisable, more particularly of certain Baroque excrescences which were more reflective of the Roman style itself than of the Western Church as a whole; still, the sweeping elimination of much that made for reverence and forbade haste or flippancy has resulted in painful loss.

The use of sacred vesture seems to be following the same trend; where, only a few years back, the celebration of the liturgy in anything less than the full complement of vestments would have been considered grave lese majesté, today hardly a hair is turned when Father X offers Mass in slacks and sweatshirt.

Norfolk Ceremony

(Long years ago we chanced to read in an Anglo-Catholic monthly an account of a ceremony held in Norfolk, Virginia, which concluded with the classic line, "The procession was wound up by Dean Peacock, in full vestments." Obviously, if the good dean today wanted to be relevant and up to the times, he would wear overalls.)

Mystery Gone

So mystery flies out of the window, poetry is replaced by bumbling prose, religious art is scorned, church architecture becomes indistinguishable from Safeway's and music, once the light and glory of the liturgy, is reduced to the utter banality of popular catch-tunes.

When, early on in the century, Pope St. Pius X lent the weight of his authority to proclaiming the primacy of Georgian Chant as the authentic song of the Church, he inaugurated a great revival. It was hard and uphill work, as is all genuine cultural advancement, but with good will and earnest striving notable progress was made all over the Church, and not least in America.

Sad Contrast

What a sad contrast is offered today! Not only is the Chant practically jettisoned, even in Benedictine monasteries, its reputed incubators; but all music of quality, dignity, splendour, is banished from our churches. Youngsters who mean well and are terribly in earnest about it hover around the altar strumming guitars and singing secular ditties, often enough without bothering to change the crude sentiments. And so the Holy Sacrifice, which once was an act of mystery and holiness, becomes as common and undistinguished as a session at the neighbourhood tavern.

Mesmeric Name

It is all done in the mesmeric name of Relevance. For

the liturgy, for Sacred Scripture, to be relevant, meaningful, to today's youth, so goes the gospel, it must be interpreted in words of one syllable, denuded of every phrase or connotation which would not be completely familiar to your average teen-ager with an I.Q. of 100, a working vocabulary of 500 words, and as slender a store of knowledge as will entitle him to enrol in any public university, sight unseen.

Mindless Rhythms

So ceremonial must be eliminated in favour of a "relaxed atmosphere," complete informality, the "come as you are but come" gambit. So, instead of singing the praise of God in a spirit of exaltation, let us sing of human love in the mindless and inane rhythms of beer-hall and television screen. On no account let us hear a sermon. A homily perhaps, provided it is empty of theological content and speaks to us only of love and comfort, without awakening us to harsh realities. Thus is the liturgy made relevant.

Relevant to what? To man's repudiation of his own dignity, of his own potential worth, his standing as an intelligent, civilized being? To his distaste for anything that smacks of culture or demands of him the effort to pull himself up by his boot-straps, or that does not pamper his inveterate "homesickness for the mudpuddle"? To his aversion to the life of grace, when he might so easily and comfortably slip back into the happy condition of your "ordinary sensual man," for whom any sort of spiritual striving, any impulse toward spiritual growth and maturity, is wholly abhorrent and alien?

Failing Badly

If this be true, then manifestly those who are charged with the direction of the policies of the Church, with the presentation of her authentic image (which does depend on human instruments) are failing her badly. And if the Bishops be included in this indictment, as allowing this

state of flux and permissiveness, of liturgical anarchy to continue unchallenged and unchecked, so be it.

The plain fact, of course, is that there is no such relevance. Sincere Christian men and women in their thousands and millions are reacting against the impoverishment and degradation of the liturgy, as they are reacting against so many displays of enfeebled or uncertain leadership. They react sometimes in anger, more often in sorrow and bewilderment.

And the reaction now is registering among the young; at first bedazzled and flattered that the Church should be willing to bring the liturgy down to the level of their immaturity, they are quickly coming to see that a teen-age liturgy is not enough for a boy or girl whose mind is stretching toward maturity and is catching a vision of the wonder and beauty, the greatness and the otherness, of the life with God.

Robbing Religion

For mystery is so intimately relevant to religion as to be, humanly speaking inseparable from it. Destroy the sense of divine otherness, of holiness and dignity, of beauty and the splendour of order, and you have robbed religion of that which clothes it with reality in our eyes. Angels may do without it, for they are pure spirits, untrammelled by the flesh. But we need it as we need our very bodies; our human vesture which, by the comprehending grace of God, can become the very Temples of the Holy Ghost.

This month we are privileged to publish this wonderful article by T. S. Gregory on the Holy Mass—as it has been, is and always will be.

Mass

T. S. GREGORY

MASS comprises three sacrificial acts i.e. three acts in which offering is made to God and accepted by God.

1. The sacrifice of the *Son of God to His Father, made on his own behalf*. This is the eternal being of the Blessed Trinity, the full utterance and delivery of the Love of God to God. "Before all world," "before time began," "for ever and ever," the entirety of divine Love subsists and "moves" between Father and Son.

This Love is absolute and is God Himself, for God is never other than Himself. This Love "proceeding" between Father and Son, Son and Father is the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity.

We can thus think of the Son of God acting and giving Himself to His Father.

"I glorified Thee on earth, having accomplished the work which thou hast given me to do. And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was."

"I came forth from thee"

"I come to thee"

"Not my will but thine"

". . . even as thou Father are in me and I in thee".

This is the first, all-inclusive, all-consummating sacrificial act of Mass. We who assist at Mass are made present witnesses of the Godhead. The Son Himself to the Father absolutely and the Father accepts the Gift absolutely.

So as we draw near to this unutterable Holiness we

"adore thee; we glorify thee; we give thanks to thee for thy great glory."

2. The Sacrifice of the *Incarnate God made on our behalf*; "for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they themselves also may be sanctified in truth".

"I will that where I am, they also may be with me"

"Today thou shalt be with me"

"Even as the Father hath loved me, I also have loved you"

"And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father."

His incarnation, life, death, resurrection and ascension — for us men and for our salvation "to take us up to God".

"This is My Body, which is *given* for you: this do in remembrance of Me." *Given* to God: "I sanctify myself."

"For God so loved the world that he *gave* His only begotten Son." If you measure these two words to *give*, you see what the transaction is. It is worth meditating. The meaning of 2. will dawn upon us to the extent that we realise 1.

(P.S. The Gospel does *not* say that God loved the world so *much* (as one translation misrepresents) but*in such a way*. We do not ask how *much* God loves. But this is the divine way of loving us — to dwell among us.)

"Remembrance" is not an adequate word for *anamnesis* which occurs in the New Testament only 4 times. Three times in this context of the Sacrament and once (Hebrews, 10,3) for the Jewish Day of Atonement. It is a religious calling to mind. It implies an act of worship, a hallowed occasion, an intellectual apprehension of the Holy.

3. Our participation in *His* Sacrifice.

"Do this in remembrance (*anamnesis*) of Me."

We are made part of His Sacrifice.

"He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me and I in him. As the living Father sent me, and I live because of the Father; so he that

eateth me, he also shall live because of me. This is the bread which came down out of heaven." "He that eateth this bread shall live for ever."

"Abide in me, and I in you."

"He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit."

"Who shall separate us from the love of Christ . . . Neither death nor life nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

"I have been crucified with Christ; yet I live, no longer I, but Christ liveth in me; and that which I now live in the flesh I live in faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself up for me."

It must be emphasised that this *participation* in His Sacrifice makes us *part* of Christ, members of His Body, "in Christ", as St. Paul describes membership of the Church. It is not that we are thankful beneficiaries of something He has done without us. The word "eucharist" which means nothing but thanksgiving is completely misleading. We do not need the Mass for giving thanks, we can do it when we are going to sleep or doing our teeth. The Mass is what we give thanks *for*, it is the act of the Incarnate God which makes us *one with Him*. Our sacrifice is thereby His Sacrifice which is life in Him.

All this, 1, 2, and 3, happens *now*. It happens in every *now* to the end of time. It happens in our presence and with our co-operation.

As the flawless perfection of our God-created humanity is His Mother, so is all human history the presence of His Sacrifice. He has extended the Cenacle to embrace the universe and abolished the separation of time; so, to the end of time, all believers are really present *to* His Sacrifice and *in* His Sacrifice. We are not at all separated from Him. When He says, "This is My Body which is

given for you. Do this," we are present with Him as were the Apostles. We are witnesses of the Resurrection as were the disciples when "they saw the Lord". All time is liturgical and we are part of the liturgy now proceeding in which "he took bread and when he had given thanks he broke it and gave to them saying, This is my body which is given for you; do this in remembrance (*anamnesis*) of me."

So is the Church His Body "the fullness of him that filleth all in all". It has no other being than to be Christ taking over and making His own the humanity to which in the Love which is His Godhead He wills to be born, by the same sacrifice that utters His Love of His Father. "We all with unveiled face reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit" (2 Cor. 3, 18). The Spirit who is the divine Love proceeding from Father to Son and Son to Father carries His Holy Body in His divine procession to express not only the Love of men for God, nor only the Love of God for men, but above all the Love of God for God. The Sacrifice takes its participants into the eternal life and being of the Blessed Trinity. This is the most holy Sacrament of the Altar. "As thou Father are in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." This is the Holy Mass.

This is why there is a priesthood and a sacrament of order. Priesthood is the means by which all time and place, all creatures in time to the end of time are made present and participant in His one Sacrifice offered once and for all. It is not only that He, being God, has made the one Sacrifice which spans His whole creation, but that all the generations of time are in their temporal generations present and participant in it, as members of His Body which is given for them. To this end the priest is His organ ordained and consecrated by Him, that is, by the universal Church, one, holy, Catholic and apostolic, which is His Body. The priest is "not-I-but-Christ". The consecrated elements are "not-I-but-Christ" and the whole

Church participating is "not-I-but-Christ". The priest, then, is the High Priest sacramentally, an organic and necessary part of the divine Sacrifice whereby we are made present and participant in the eternal being of God, which is Love.

It is therefore eternally necessary that the priest be a sacrificing priest and that his identity as such should be unmistakably determined by God Incarnate, the Word made flesh. There can be no doubt or modification such as would transfer the validity of his order to human faith or intention. No one but Christ Himself can ordain His priest. No one. This is what makes some contemporary ecumenical discussion so dangerous. There is also danger in some of the reference to "apostolic succession," for succession is in itself a legal metaphor which does not reach the divine heart of the matter. Succession — yes but *to what?* and by *what root of title?* The point is that whenever a bishop ordains a priest, the bishop is "not-I-but-Christ"; it is Christ who ordains to Christhood for the purpose of Christ. And there must be no room whatever for doubt in the public mind, for if there is any doubt at all, it will *eo ipso* make the public the ordainer, and *for that public* the sacrifice collapses into humanism — something done by me, not by God.

II Transubstantiation

Transubstantiation is not an obscure or difficult doctrine if we accept the theology and ontology of those who framed it i.e. if we believe in "God the Father Almighty, Maker of . . . all things visible and invisible." The universe is thus a vast system of substances, each substance defined in and by the purpose of its Maker. Thus bread is that which sustains human life on earth: the body of Christ is that which fulfils human life in heaven. (Fulfils i.e. the Creator's purpose in human life.) It is then not at all difficult to believe that "for us men and for our salvation" God changes the bread of earth into the bread of heaven, that which sustains into that which fulfils human life, according to His purpose. Such a change is clearly tran-

substantiation. Its agent is the Word by whom all things are made: its method is consecration i.e. sacrifice.

The difficulty arises only when we deny or neglect the truth that God is the Maker of all things. We then educe an entirely different meaning of the word "substance". According to this new definition, we do not ask what is the purpose of a substance, but what is its physical constitution and description, not what is it made *for*, but what is it made *of*. In this new definition the ultimate reference is not God the Creator but human experience. Thus bread is not that which sustains human life, but that which is made of flour, derived from wheat and baked in an oven. At this level and in these terms transubstantiation is meaningless, but so in the final reckoning is human life itself. The real, though often concealed presupposition is atheism. It implies not only the denial of transubstantiation in the Sacrament, but the denial of the divine creation and divine purpose of "all things visible and invisible". All it says is that you cannot have transubstantiation in a godless universe.

This was the real significance of the Nominalist revolution which captivated Christendom from the 14th century onwards, and accompanied the rise of humanism and empirical science. What mattered to William of Occam was not the divine creation or revelation but the integrity and autonomy of the human mind. And his successors, logicians rather than theologians, acquiesced in the generally accepted division, the irreconcilable conflict, between the sacred and the secular, between mysticism and common sense, between revelation and reason. It was as if there had been no Incarnation. This discarnation, this conflict between divine and human, has remained with us ever since, creating a secularist civilisation and an individualistic or mystical religion. I must at all cost obey the demands of economics and of natural science. Whether I believe in God is my own affair, and largely a matter of temperament and taste. The world of the physicist or engineer is objective reality whereas religion is subjective condition, a state of mind.

Part of this new cosmology and derived from it was

the dualism of body and mind, attacked not long since as the "ghost in the machine" theory, by Gilbert Ryle. This dualism created the "body" of the physiologist and the surgeon who dealt with the mechanics of a body that was all machine. It dismissed and forgot the concept of body which signified identity and "thisness". If we consider the common uses of the word body we find this simple, unsophisticated sense e.g. somebody, anybody, old body, friendly body, main body (of an army), governing body, foreign body, and so on. This body stands for carnal identity, something we can point to as *this* same viable, tangible thing. And in this language "my body" means my carnal identity, that which I can point to or think of as me. The writ of *habeas corpus* is not concerned with lungs, liver, heart, brain, blood stream, nervous system but with a person distinct and objectively perceptible who has certain rights under English law.

If then we return to the meaning of substance as that which God creates and defines in and for God's purpose, we have no need to invoke Aristotelian physics to make sense of sacramental transubstantiation. "This is My Body" means this is my substantial identity, definitely this in this world of time and space. This is I. This, precisely this, is the bread which fulfils human life in heaven. This very thing is the Body of Me which takes away the sin of the world. Here and now and thus, I am this. I am this because I have created and consecrated this to this end. If you ask what it is made of, the bakers can tell you, just as a biochemist can tell you what you are made of. But if you ask what it *is*, I can tell you and I alone, just as I alone can tell you what you are. This is My Body.

This is the real division, the real issue. The difference between Catholic and Protestant beliefs concerning the sacrament is not limited to the liturgy: it is a different theism, indeed, a different God. The question is whether we start from God or from the autonomous human mind and human experience, whether we are living in God's world or our own. No ecumenical intention and good will

can be of any avail which does not face this primal and ultimate difference. It is a difference that goes back far beyond the Reformation to the realist-nominalist controversy of the 14th century. But it implies in practice and conduct a wholly different attitude to religion, a profoundly different kind of Church.

Turn to the consecrating words, and they are the most elemental and concentrated statement of incarnation possible in human speech.

This is My Body. As a whole, that is what everything on earth says by the mere act of existing, what the Incarnate God said before He said anything, by being born.

Look at it word by word:—

This, is the index of the nearest reality, the particular and direct and immediate contact with all that is. It indicates with consummate emphasis the here and now.

Is, the present indicative of the verb to be, is the full affirmation of being. Not, this represents or symbolises or was or will be or has been; not promise nor recollection but *being* present and inevitable.

My, personal and possessive of Him whose kingdom comes, whose will is done, who gives and forgives, who is my Lord and my God.

Body, carnal, tangible entity with us on earth and sharing with every thing in the natural universe the *dimension* of natural existence. My God here and now and thus and this.

Saturate your mind with these four meanings and it is all but inevitable to believe (with St. Augustine and St. Thomas) that whereas the end of ordinary bread is to be changed into man, this Bread changes man into Itself.

From that point onwards the whole Christian faith breaks like the dayspring from on high, the kingdom of heaven, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting.

The country faces a serious economic situation, with inflation running at a dangerously high rate and a large balance of payments deficit. The country needs a Government that will face up to these problems. But there is little sign in the Budget that the present Government is capable of coping. Many of the measures are irrelevant or likely to make the situation worse.

An Irrelevant Budget

J. M. JACKSON

FEW would deny that the economic situation facing the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a difficult one. The difficulties confronting him in framing his first budget were undoubtedly aggravated by the fact that he had only a very limited time in which to make the necessary preparations. This complication, however, was one of the Government's own making. The situation was not such that a budget had to be introduced within weeks of the Government's taking office. Nothing very much would have happened if the budget had been delayed until mid-April. Whether it would have been a better budget, however, is debatable. There is little doubt that the present Government¹ came into office with pre-conceived ideas of promoting its socialist ideals, no matter how little support these had received from the electorate.

What was needed?

The two main problems facing the Government are inflation and the balance of payments. Any measures taken

1. *Present* refers to the time of writing a few days after the introduction of the budget. In the existing political situation the description could prove inaccurate by the time of publication.

by the Government must be judged primarily in the light of the contribution they make to bringing inflation under control and to improving the balance of payments.

Economists have for a long time recognised two possible forms of inflation, demand-pull and cost-push. The distinction may not be immediately apparent to the ordinary person. The effects may seem very much the same. As far as the man in the street is concerned, both lead to rising prices. Nevertheless, if inflation can be caused in two quite different ways, it follows that quite different remedies may be required. Demand-pull inflation occurs when there is an excessive demand for goods and services. It is this excessive demand which pulls prices up. Inflation of this kind can occur if there is an undue increase in any kind of spending, whether the spending of ordinary consumers, business men spending on new equipment and the like or government spending. A sudden increase in the demand for our exports could also create so great a demand for our goods and services that prices were forced up. Often, excessive expenditure may be facilitated by uncontrolled increases in the supply of money. A typical example of this was the rise in prices that occurred in the fifteenth and sixteenth century with the discovery of gold in the New World. Whereas a very limited stock of gold and silver had long served as money, vast quantities were now being brought back from America and used to purchase the goods and services that were available. Since, however, the supply of goods and services had not increased, the additional spending of the newly obtained gold and silver merely forced up prices. The same can happen today, when the principle form of money is bank deposits, mere entries in the books of the banks and therefore very readily increased.

It must be emphasised that banks can only add to the supply of money if there are people who want to borrow from them. The supply of money is only increased because people want to increase their demand for goods and services. Nevertheless, it might seem that if control could be

enforced over the right of the banks to create money in this way it would effectively prevent demand from increasing. This, however, is not strictly true. In any economy a certain volume and value of transactions will take place in any period of time. Money is constantly changing hands. If people want more goods, more transactions will take place. The total value of transactions will increase. This means that there must be an increase in either the total stock of money or in the rate at which it changes hands or both. It may be inconvenient to cope with the greater volume of transactions with the same quantity of money in circulation, but if people really want to increase their spending they may accept this inconvenience. They may rely to an increasing extent on credit. Some people who might have paid cash for goods may have them delivered and pay when a bill is sent perhaps at the end of the month. Manufacturers who have given customers credit may in turn delay paying those who supplied raw materials. So it is no answer to demand-pull inflation to rely solely on controlling the money supply, the line taken by Mr. Powell following Professor Friedman.

Cost-push inflation occurs when there is an increase in costs which are then passed on in higher prices. In this country many people have believed (probably with good reason) that trade union wage demands were a cause of cost inflation. Trade unions demanded wage increases that were substantially in excess of any increase in productivity and this necessitated prices being raised. This is the kind of situation which an incomes policy is designed to deal with. Wages, however, are not the only element in costs which can lead to this type of inflation. Any element in costs can initiate inflation. At the present time, the price of wheat is rising. Naturally this leads to a rise in the price of flour and bread. Food subsidies have been suggested to meet this situation, but we shall have to look more carefully at the consequences of this so-called remedy in some detail.

The balance of payments deficit is the other major problem that faces the Government. There are several

elements in the balance of payments situation. First, there is the great increase in the cost of imported oil as a result of the higher prices imposed by the Arab countries. Secondly, in so far as we are suffering from an inflationary situation our prices may be uncompetitive and handicap our export trade and encourage imports. Thirdly, we may be unduly inclined to import foreign goods in preference to those produced at home. Fourth, in so far as we are in an inflationary situation, our own demand for goods and services may be running beyond our own productive capacity.

The twin problems of inflation and the balance of payments would be difficult enough. For a Government to tackle them and at the same time to introduce measures to implement its own peculiar variety of social justice and ill-conceived prejudices is virtually impossible. Massive increases in social security benefits mean increased contributions from employers which will be reflected in higher costs and therefore prices. Vast sums are to be spent on food subsidies which will provide a small relief to the rising cost of living at the expense of greatly increased taxation and a strengthening of the inflationary forces in the economy. Of course, such a price might be worthwhile if the social contract between the Government and the TUC were to be made effective, but in practice it is much more likely that the Government will toe the union line and get nothing in return. The present signs are that the engineers will not exercise restraint, and already miners are talking of even more unreasonable demands. (It is interesting that the miners' leaders have made use of the argument that there has been a relative worsening of their position but at the same time have denied that they were a special case and that others should not be deterred from pressing their claims. Now that they are talking in terms of an increase of about a third in their wages, it is clear that some of these men are not interested in their members welfare but are intent on the ruin of the British economy.)

Food Subsidies

The introduction of food subsidies is perhaps the most disastrous of the policies adopted by the Government. Food subsidies are not a solution for the problem of inflation but merely a masking of the symptoms. The adoption of these subsidies is open to criticism in so far as they are an unnecessarily costly way of helping those in need, are inequitable as between individuals, conceal from the British public the true cost of the food they are buying from abroad, and may serve to aggravate rather than reduce the forces making for inflation.

In a period of rapidly rising prices, especially food prices, it may, of course, be essential to take some measures to protect the living standards of the poorer members of society. In the last year or so, it has been food prices which have risen most rapidly, and the poorer members of society tend to spend a larger part of their incomes on food than the population as a whole. For those whose income is only just adequate, it is, of course, clear that any rise in prices is bound to be a cause of serious hardship. Whilst such people must be helped, it is obviously going to be a very expensive process if they are to be helped by means of universal benefits which are given also to those who are quite able to manage unaided.

If the Government is going to interfere with the forces of the market, it is essential that they should do so with regard for equity. The Government would be justified in imposing taxes in order to help those in real need. It would, however, be required in justice to make sure that it did really help all who were in need and did not discriminate by helping some and not others. If it were really unavoidable that help should be given in the form of universal rather than selective benefits, it would again be the duty of the Government to ensure that there was no discrimination in the conferring of benefits. This the present Government has failed to do. It has deliberately chosen to discriminate against minorities who choose to eat something

other than the standard loaf, whether they choose to buy some other kind of loaf (e.g. starch reduced bread) or to buy flour and make their own. This is a typical example of the way in which Governments which over-reach themselves and extend their activities beyond the proper sphere of government create injustice between citizen and citizen.

Keeping prices down by food subsidies is merely masking the symptoms of inflation. There is very little ground for much optimism about food subsidies really influencing trade union policy on wage claims. Meanwhile, in any inflationary situation, if some prices are kept down, it merely means that people spend less on some commodities and are free to spend more on others. In so far as this happens, the increase in prices is merely diverted from one group of commodities to others. In so far as taxes are raised to pay for the subsidies, purchasing power is reduced and the diversion of demand mentioned does not occur to the same extent. It is still possible that some impact on other prices will occur. This will be the case if subsidies are paid for by means of taxes which fall mainly on the wealthier members of society. The reason for this is that the poorer members of society who benefit from the subsidies will have their food bills reduced and spend the money saved on other things. Although the wealthy may have paid additional taxes, they may do so by reducing their savings rather than spending. When subsidies are introduced, it may therefore be necessary to avoid this kind of effect by raising taxation by more than the amount of the subsidies.

Finally, the rising price of foodstuffs means that there is a scarcity. The idea of subsidies is to enable the people of this country to continue enjoying their customary standard of living, to enable them to consume as much as before without having to make sacrifices in other directions. It is particularly desirable that we should allow the price of food on the British market to rise, so that people would know what food is really worth, what it costs to produce. If faced with higher prices, there might be a cut in consump-

tion. Whilst there are people in this country for whom this would undoubtedly be a hardship (from which they should be protected), there are many others for whom it would be no hardship and perhaps a benefit. If we really wanted to maintain our present food consumption, we should show a willingness to pay higher prices and perhaps expand our own production under conditions of higher cost than those of our present suppliers.

Social Security

There was undoubtedly a need to do something to improve the lot of pensioners. Again, however, it could be argued that increases in pension have been given indiscriminately. Whilst perhaps the majority of pensioners will not be in undue luxury as a result of the increases that have been given, there will be many who are receiving a substantial increase in their state pension and who already have an adequate pension or income from other sources. The trouble here is that the Government is unwilling to accept the desirability of selectivity in this field and to limit its assistance to those in genuine need. The long term solution here would be to adopt the tax credit system proposed by the previous Government. Under this scheme, those with very low incomes would have a tax assessment less than the credits they were allowed to offset against their assessment and this difference would be paid to them.

The case of the pensioners is one which commands a certain amount of emotional support. It is unfortunate that the Government has played to the gallery in its generous treatment of pensioners and has discriminated against others who might be in equal need. The pension for a married couple has been raised from £12.50 to £16.00. The rate of Unemployment and Sickness Benefit has been raised from the lower level of £11.80 to £13.90. No doubt the discrimination of 70p introduced by the previous Government at the last review might be justified by reference to the special needs of old people. There can be no justification

whatever for the massive discrimination now introduced of £2.10. Admittedly, for those who may be away from work for less than six months the position is not too serious in so far as most claimants will be entitled to an earnings related supplement. This is, however, paid only for 26 weeks. A person who is unemployed for more than a six month period is then dependent upon the flat-rate benefit. Of course, such a person can claim the means-tested Supplementary Benefit, but even in the Supplementary Benefit scales the same discrimination is continued. There is, under Supplementary Benefit, two scales, one for short-term and another for long term cases. The person entitled to benefit will have his income, after paying rent, brought up to the approved scale. Until the new proposals take effect, the long term scale is £12.85 and the short term £11.65. There is this difference of £1.20, increased from the previous level at the last review. Under the Government's proposals, these scales increase to £13.65 and £16.35, a difference of £2.70. This is a greater difference than can be logically justified. Moreover, the long-term rate is only paid to people under pension age who have been on benefit for two years. Moreover, the unemployed do not qualify for the long-term rate in any circumstances.

The Contraceptive Mentality

"We (Catholics) are not escaping the selfish contraceptive mentality which infects the world about us. Figures over the last few years reveal the startling fact that we in the Church, who for over a hundred years have enjoyed an expanding spiritual economy with more and more schools, more and more churches, face for the first time in our existence a contracting one. Baptism figures have fallen every year for the last six years by over six thousand a year"—Archbishop Murphy of Cardiff.

Brian Moore's novel, *Catholics*, published last year, has already won a W. H. Smith literary prize. It has been televised in America by the Columbia Broadcasting Company and caused something of a sensation. Below, we print a review-article of the TV version, which is reprinted by kind permission of "Christian Communications", 223 Main Street, Ottawa, K1S 1C4, Canada. In view of the fact that the TV version of *Catholics* has been shown in this country (presumably under its American title, given above) readers will find this excellent article of particular interest.

Book Review

CATHOLICS — A FABLE

Catholics—A Fable, televised by CBS Playhouse on November 29, 1973, foretells that in twenty years Catholicism will indeed be nothing but a fable which a forlorn band of monks, singing "Faith of our Fathers living still", try to keep alive on a small island off the Irish coast. The remoteness of their monastery had saved it from Cromwell's army of saints but now Kinsella, a young monk from Rome, reaches it by helicopter. He is armed with plenipotentary powers from the Father General of these monks to liquidate their resistance.

Had it been a mission to South America, he would have carried a machine gun which is now considered to work better *ex opere operato* than any sacrament could. For the kingdom of earth is exclusive. It is not for all sinners. Some can only be converted into corpses. Christ was wrong not to summon his legions of angels. Stalin was right when he sneered: "How many divisions has the Pope?"

Kinsella's mission was to enforce freedom for homo-

geneity that is achieved by the power of semantics. This meant freedom from the slavish belief in the power of the Word of God to change bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ at the Sacrifice of the Mass. Enforcement of this kind was no longer done by Cromwellian methods but more subtly by abolishing old customs and replacing them with new ones that are not consonant with the traditional (i.e. commemorative) mentality, thus causing atrophy to set in. In this case it was a matter of replacing with committee English the Latin that these renegade monks were using in the Mass. (Vatican II had sanctioned the continued use of Latin but this decision was abrogated by Vatican III and anathematized by Vatican IV). "We are merely trying to create a uniform posture within the Church. If everybody decides to worship in his own way, obviously that will create disunity" explained Kinsella.

Pluralism (except in minor matters) was out, uniformism was in and the use of standard committee English produced by the Ecumenical Liturgical Committee (ECULITCOM) was now universal. The English was aimed at church-goers of middling intelligence and literacy rather than at the least of the most intelligent literati. Thus was thrown out Pius X's principle that the liturgy, being the most excellent kind of prayer, must be expressed in the most excellent language so that it might raise minds and hearts to God on wings of beauty. Henceforth the principle of homogeneity was applied: the lower class must only be raised to the middle; the higher lowered to the middle; and the middle left where it was. It has to be admitted, however, that bland, mediocre language mutates better than the enduring language of genius.

At an early stage, the Apostles' creed was promoted into the Mass. The Nicene creed was thus demoted to the state of "optional", a process which put it on the slippery semantic slope of declension, at the bottom of which it would be found to be "disposable".

When the Nicene creed was first introduced in the 4th century, it brought to a head the problem of religious unity in the new Constantinian empire. The Christian

emperors tended to be like their pagan predecessors: they wanted religious unity at all costs. In practice this often meant that imperial politics dictated the appointment of prelates who would spread the lowest common denominator type of pseudo-ecumenism known as Arianism. But the Nicene creed blocked the progress of Arianism. Vatican II had made the retrograde mistake of ending the Constantinian era and thus closing its options. But the tremendous progressive push of Vatican III and IV enabled the Church to rush all the way back to the 4th century and re-open the option of Arianism. And in fact the movement of disbelief in the divinity of Christ spread by the Arians was the best model for future progress because it provided the lesson of the only such movement in the history of the Church which owed its success to working within her. By so doing, thanks to the help of imperial power politics, it had spectacular success in capturing nearly all the bishops.

Twentieth-century Arianism, influenced more by Hegelian than by Byzantine dialectics, had now become a man-centred, this-wordly self-substantiating humanism and thus was highly acceptable as the ecclesiastical right arm of the new imperialism (semantically called "anti-imperialism") and its revolutionary objectives. It had in common with the Arians of old that it rejected a Christ who is consubstantial (*homoousios*) with God the Father. But its Hegelianism had also allowed it to dispose of a Christ who would lead men to a transcendental kingdom, not of this world. Its great affinity, and the reason why it was fascinated with 4th century Arianism, was strategic: instead of breaking away from Catholicism to form a rival church, it remained "within the system" in order to take over, by political means, the administration of the Church. As Kinsella put it blandly, "The Church can be an instrument of change. It can lead the revolution. The people will follow us. We have enormous influence".

Moreover, the Arian leaders of the 20th century, like those of the 4th, found the more primitive creeds, such as that which is called the Apostles', easier to semanticize (i.e. reduce to man's size). Nothing could be done with the

Nicene creed with its unmistakably explicit and heavily emphasized affirmation that Christ is true God and true man, divine as well as human. As soon as Vatican III and IV had enabled the Arian bishops to win back an even greater power than imperial politics had given them in the 4th century, the Nicene creed was abolished. It only remained to win the people over to the new ecumenism. They had failed to do this in the 4th century. This time there must be no mistake.

The ecumenizing of the language of the Mass gave a great impetus to the homogenizing of the Catholic Church and finally permitted her complete integration into the World Council of Churches. All roads now led to Geneva as the last court of appeal for all ideological and disciplinary disputes. All church executives now went to the land of chronometry to synchronize their plans to refound religion. In Hegelian terms, this meant that not only the age of Catholicism had finished but also its antithesis, the age of the Reformation. The synthesis, had now begun. And this was to be heralded by a meeting to homogenize Christianity with Buddhism which was shortly to take place at Bangkok under the chairmanship of Father General. A huge budget had been allotted for the distribution of billions of pictures, cleverly designed to look like both Christ and Buddha in both the cruciform and lotus position. And printed on it was a creed that was a masterpiece of syncretism intended for all double-U, double-C, double-speak Christians and Buddhists everywhere.

But here was this horrible hiatus. The monks on the lonely Irish isle, after finding that ECULITCOM English not only emptied the Mass of meaning but the church of worshippers, had perversely relapsed into the habit of saying the old Mass in Latin. And people came flocking from far and wide, even in chartered planes from across the sea. The situation was critical. The mass media were irresponsibly cashing in on the entertainment value of this fabulous story and diverting publicity from the approaching meeting at Bangkok and the sales campaign for the Christ-Buddha image in the cruciform-lotus position.

The hot line from ECULITCOM at Washington was sizzling in the ear of Father General. The bottom would drop out of the liturgics market if he did not get the helloffen his. Since the dying American automobile industry had relinquished the torch of progress, they had upheld it (what's good for ECULITCOM is good for the People of God) by bringing out brand new liturgical models with unfailing regularity. The latest was a line of Eucharists that would run on tea, coffee or milk (this last a pasteurized as well as homogenized mass). If this popular reaction against style changes continued to escalate, there would be the very devil to pay.

What was the moon-faced monk from Rome to do? Without his machine gun, he was a pipsqueak in front of men who believed in change infinitely more than he. For they believed in CHANGE—in the upper case and the Upper Room—change by the power of the Word of God, change of water into wine and wine into blood. He only believed in a little change like the 4th century Arians, those exquisitely expert semanticists, who put the itsy-bitsy iota into the *homooousios* to leave Christ with only a semblance of being divine. So his was only change in the lower case, on the level of fashion-changers or money-changers whom Christ whipped out of the Temple because they were short-changing the people. He began to have a feeling that he too was whipped.

Fortunately the script-writer was on the side of our helicopter hero. He brought in the old Latin god, *deus ex machina*, to inspire the Abbot of these monks to confess that he had lost his faith and only remained "in the system" because he was content to be foreman of an obedient work crew. Farming and fishing were things real enough to attenuate the pain of the emptiness of his soul. It was at Lourdes that he realized he had lost his faith. All those sick people left without the cures for which they prayed so hard! (And indeed the Abbot was right. He *had* lost his faith if he could not see that their prayers *were* answered even if they were not cured. For at Lourdes one prays in the manner that Mary teaches, which is the manner of her

Son: Father, let this chalice pass me by. But thy will not mine be done). He saw the Mother of God only as a myth impeding the progress of medical science. Latin or ECULITCOM English — it was all the same to him. He could not pray in any language. "Do not worry, Kinsella," he said, "I will see that my monks comply with the orders of Father General. They know how to obey and I know how to command".

So the young monk flew off happily in his helicopter, his mission accomplished. Happily also he tore to shreds the Abbot's letter of resignation. A faithless pastor leading faithful men? Why not? Superior Generals at Rome had long since found they could live with such situations. Holy homogeneity, thanks to semantic power, can embrace the faithless and the faithful. In fact the former are far less troublesome. They are usually excellent administrators of their provinces.

So much for the fable. We have filled in some of the phenomena that the CBS Playhouse had to omit in a story that was aimed at middle class intelligence and literacy. If it has a factual basis, perhaps it can be found in a scientific report on church attendance compiled by Fathers Greeley and McCready which the fabulous *National Catholic Reporter* published on November 16, 1973. The heading was "Drop in Churchgoing Catastrophic". The report asked: "What is happening in the American Catholic population? Have the dramatic changes of the Vatican Council weakened the faith of the Catholic people? Have they simply decided that it is no longer a mortal sin to miss Mass on Sunday? Have they been turned off by bad sermons? Do they find the new liturgy senseless? Are they angry at *Humanae Vitae*?"

The report also noted "a strong relationship between lack of confidence in leadership and not going to church among American Catholics".

It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good and catastrophic situations are especially good for Social Science Inc. The U.S. bishops have already put up half a million dollars

to find out what is ailing the pastors. Why will they not fork out even more for the flock? So predictably, Fathers Greeley and McCready propose "that there be convened a national conference of bishops, priests and scholars (particularly theologians and social scientists). They will diagnose tentatively the nature of the problem, lay out a research programme to discover its roots and take vigorous action to reclaim for the Sunday liturgy those who no longer show up (and, be it noted, no longer throw their envelopes into the collection)".

Fear not, dear bishops. You need not seek money to pay scientific soothsayers to blueprint yet another crash programme. You need not pay anything to know what you must do. The answer is already given in the Revelation of John as well as by that other John known as Cardinal Newman. Thou shalt not semanticize or homogenize under the sign of Arius. Sheep will not follow wolves. The people will not follow Arian bishops. Though "the little hiss from hell" that Chesterton heard fifty years ago crescend to the roar of the ampitheatre crowd, the cry in Greek as well as Latin will still be heard above it:

Kyrie, eleison . . . Miserere nobis!

The Church will be renewed, not by research dollars, but by the renewal of the flow of Christ's blood in the Mass. Christ, priest and victim, is yesterday, today and the same for ever.

Anthony Witherspoon.